/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Cararustí region in Caipipendí valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6). 1/A

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

1/A [Fig 6 appears on p. 69 -- Analyst]

/342 cont./

243 462 [482] Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her alapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help [492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 • 789 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] [178] The game of mbotó represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on P. 78]

34./

526 178 243 789 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Caipipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343 251

Fig. 9. Corncrib on piles (avatió). Ivu. (Photo. A.M.)

526 178 243 789 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same, as I learned in the Macharetí mission. Only a few years ago mbotó was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/344 cont./

526 178 243 789 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

526 171 [179]

417 251 824 Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

526 789 243 This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Caruruti (1/3 nat. size.)

/354 cont./

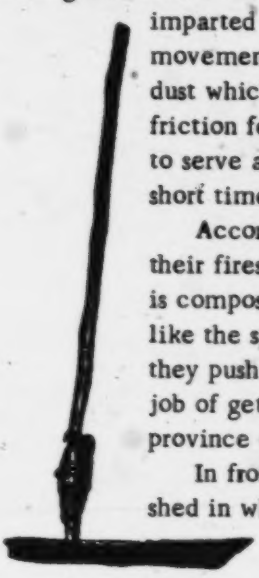
372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313]

343 In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] ← Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[789] [825]

[775]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

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Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[975] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] [789] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

● [789] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendi, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 ## Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

[197] [198] Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

1: Métraux--324 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1
Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

G
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/462 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth, pp. 497-499, Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

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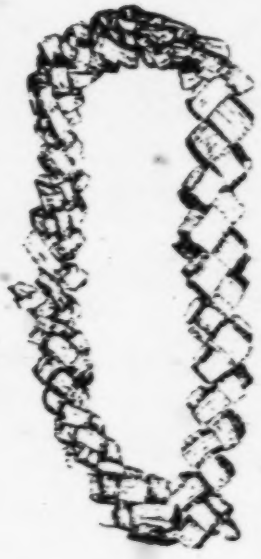

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Fig 119. Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A
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Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1 Fig. 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 796 [122] The handsome masks, whose description I shall give further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their [126] [241] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 795 789 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for example, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee. If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapetí River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Añia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789]

1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Añia.

773

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777]

2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/150 cont./

756 789 731 824 [197]

Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields, but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 755

In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164]

1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

C 821 /295 cont./ The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C 821 177 The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ee 821 784 [763] When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ee 821 [789] [825] [784] [484] /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash; otherwise it will rain. In a

Ce 821 773 myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was

Ce 821 [784] [825] destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain.

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects.

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

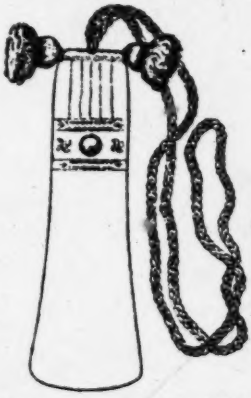

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 331: 23—27.